Conscript War Industries Under Workers' Control!

JUNE 2, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

# BY FLOUTING THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE - -

# ROOSEVELT FOISTS WAR RULE ON U.S.I

## Not So Long Ago--When He Was Asking for Votes

"Our acts must be guided by one single hard-headed thoughtkeeping America out of this war."-President Roosevelt to Congress, Sept. 21, 1939.

"The time is long past\* when any political party or any particular group can curry and capture public favor by labeling itself the peace party or the peace bloc. That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right-thinking man, woman and child within it."-President Roosevelt to Congress, Jan. 3, 1940.

"We are keeping out of the wars that are going on in Europe and in Asia."-President Roosevelt to the Young Democratic Clubs of America,

"We will not send our men to take part in European wars."-President Roosevelt to Congress, July 10, 1940.

"We will not participate in foreign wars and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside the Americas except in case of attack."-President Roosevelt to the Teamsters, Sept. 11, 1940.

"To every man, woman and child in the nation I say this-your President and your Secretary of State are following the road to peace. We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conquest or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party: 'We will not participate in foreign wars and will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."-President Roosevelt at Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940.

"I give to you and to the people of this country this most solemn assurance: There is no secret treaty, no secret obligation, no secret commitment, no secret understanding in any shape or form, direct or indirect, with any other government, or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve-no such secrecy that might or could, in any shape, involve-this nation in any war or for any other purpose. Is that clear?" -President Roosevelt at Philadelphia, October 23, 1940.

"I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars."-President Roosevelt at Brooklyn Academy, Nov. 1, 1940.

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."-President Roosevelt at Cleveland, Nov. 2, 1940.

## Tremendous Transport Rally **Gives City Union-Busters** Something to Think About

NEW YORK CITY-The latest move in the splendid fight of the Transport Workers Union for its continued existence in New York City was a tremendous rally at Madison Square Garden on May 21. If Mayor La Guardia still thinks that by going into the business of running subways, he and the Board of Transportation can break up this powerful union, he has missed the significance of this great gathering of the pro-unionists

Unionists and supporters of the union cause in New York City, numbering 22,000, jammed the Garden to endorse the life and death struggle of the TWU. An estimated 20,000 could not get into the Garden and many thousands remained on the streets to listen to the speeches as they came through the loud speakers.

#### Parade From Hall

Even more impressive and stirring than the enthusiasm reigning inside the Garden was the well-organized parade of members of the TWU from their headquarters on 64th Street down Eighth Avenue. They did not go to the rally as individuals to assemble within the protection of four walls. They came through the city streets guarded by police on foot and on horse, and lined by sympathetic or curious people. They came as a UNION, as ONE, giving life to the placards they bore, "UNITED IN-

The marchers were formed in com-

panies, each with a captain and each with the banner of the division of the TWU to which they belong. There were car inspectors, lamp trimmers, signalmen, carpenters, locomotive engineers, switchmen, ticket agents, office workers and all the other categories. Men, women and children marched together. Banners and placards were carried by women and children-even by little ones of five and six.

The BMT, IRT and Independent subways were represented, as were the bus and trolley lines. Workers of the Harlem Paint Shop 'came' by. The Women's Auxiliary of the TWU marched in a company of its own.

The band at the head of the parade played "Solidarity Forever" and other union songs. Bands of bagpipers were interspersed along the line. The marchers shouted greetings to their friends on the sidewalks and invited them to join. And from the sidewalks came shouts of "Atta boy!"

It-was a sight to see. A young woman member of the State, County and Municipal Workers Union said to me, with deep emotion in her voice: "This makes me feel that labor has a chance to get anything it

The keynote of the huge demonstration was the demand for collective bargaining. Slogans displayed in the parade and inside the Garden called for genuine collective bargaining. Speakers declared that the state and federal laws granting workers the right to collective bar-

(Continued on page 3)

What joy there will be in Wall Street! What dancing! What hilarity! What rubbing of palms!

Roosevelt on Tuesday night issued a proclamation of "unlimited emergency," fixing a gruesome chain around the lives of 130,000,000 people—each link of the chain trade-marked with a hideous dollar sign.

"Unlimited" indeed! Unlimited exploitation, unlimited bloodshed, unlimited profits, unlimited conquest—an unlimited stranglehold on the liberty and life of every worker and farmer in all the Americas.

No limit at all—save the limits of imperialist conquest and human endurance—OR THE LIMIT THAT WE, THE OP-PRESSED AND THE EXPLOITED, OURSELVES PUT ON IT!

This last we can fix BEFORE the very first link of the chain . . . or at any of its succeeding links.

We need only realize our strength and our power, we need only flex our muscles to crack the chain at every one of its profit-gorging links.

Once before we were fooled—in 1914-1918. Bound hand and foot by treachery, deceit, lies and "emergency" compulsion, some of us were driven to slaughter in the Argonnes of the war . . . while others of us were strapped to the machines that ground out a profit with every shrapnel.

Shall we be fooled again? Or shall we in loud speech, AND LOUDER ACTION, lay down our own "emergency" decree: Mr. President, yours is a bosses' war and a bosses' proclamation. We refuse to sacrifice ourselves to the profit lust of ANY imperialism.

Yes, Roosevelt tried to fool us, tried to make us accept the chain of greater bondage willingly and uncomplainingly as

#### **Brooklyn Navy** Yard Workers Blast at Frey

Special to Labor Action BROOKLYN - The Brooklyn Metal Trades Council, consisting of all the AFL members of all the trades in the Brooklyn Navy Yard has expressed its solidarity with the strike of the West Coast AFL and CIO machinists in San Francisco. In a sharply worded telegram to John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, they attacked his strikebreaking activities in leading seabs through a picket line of machinists, bona fide members of the Metal Trades Department.

So wrought up are the Navy Yard workers that at the forthcoming conference of all East Coast Metal Trades Councils to be held in Washington next week the preliminary steps are going to be taken to attempt to remove the contemptible Frey from office at the Metal Trades conven-

The fact that the strike of Local 68, led by Hook and Dillon, was backed by the president of the International Association of Machinists. Harvey W. Brown, removed all remnants of uncertainty from the minds of the Navy Yard unionists about the West Coast strike.

It is significant to remember that the Brooklyn Navy Yard workers have already known the treachery of another ex-big shot of the Metal Trades Department-Calvin, the former secretary-treasurer, who was ousted from office because he put his signature to the miserable two bits a week raise that was issued by the Navy Department last year. They so can Frey.

The news that the Navy Department is providing Navy trucks for strikebreakers, that Rear Admiral Land has proposed before a Senate hearing that the picket lines be smashed by main force, and the rumor that the Navy Department has contemplated towing the ships to the Mare Island Navy Yard for completion has widened the rift between the Navy Yard workers and the brass hats of the Navy. The workers know that these scum are the agents of the anti-labor profiteering boss class.

# The Ford Vote Was a Vote For Militancy!

AN EDITORIAL

The results of the election at the Ford River Rouge and Lincoln plants demonstrate the value of militant unionism and the preference of the workers for a union that will go out on the picket line and fight. That is precisely what this victory of the CIO means. This is a challenge to the leadership of the CIO and should serve as an example to the membership of the AFL, led by its Greens, Freys and Wolls will be a series of the AFL, led by its Greens, Freys and Wolls will be a series of the AFL, led by its Greens, Freys and Wolls will be a series of the AFL, led by its Greens, Freys and Wolls will be a series of the AFL, led by its Greens, Freys and Wolls will be a series of the AFL.

We suspect that few people, workers and others, took seriously the pre-election boast of the AFL that it would carry the elections. What had the AFL done to win the confidence of automobile workers? Who organized and led the militant Ford strike? Was the strike led by Green, Frey and Woll? Did the automobile workers learn militant unionism from the AFL's Scalise, Bioff or Brown of the AFL theatrical union? We suppose that it was the AFL leaders who put those thousands of workers on the picket line and the automobiles bumper to bumper around the Ford plant.

If it were not for the fact that Deacon Bill Green is a labor leader he would simply be funny. Under his leadership there wasn't a chance for the AFL to win that election. Green doesn't believe that the bosses are the enemies of labor. Speaking before a gang of bosses in Chicago recently Bill said: "Far from regarding employers as the enemy of workers, the AFL seeks to establish an economic partnership between employer and workers, justified by their dependence on each other and their respective contributions to industrial progress.",

Ford with his goon squads, Allis-Chalmers with its armored cars, Bethlehem with its company unions, and all the rest of the employer outfits with their low wages, long hours, exploitation, are not regarded by the AFL (meaning Green, Frey, Hutchinson) as enemies of the

And also, there is "an economic partnership between employer feel that if Calvin can get kicked out, - and workers." It's a hell of a partnership. The bosses take millions of dollars in dividends and interest from that partnership and the workers take the scraps. What kind of partnership is there between Grace's salary of \$1,300 a day and his steel worker partner with \$5.80 a day? Gifford of Bell Telephone gets around \$500 a day. It must make his partners on the telephone poles at \$5.00 feel very good to know that they are in partnership with such a noble boss.

There are thousands of militant workers in the AFL just as there are hordes of such workers in the CIO. The CIO workers have shown the AFL workers how to fight. These CIO workers have also served notice on the CIO leadership that they don't want any AFL type of leadership. The vote of the Ford workers for the CIO union should serve as a warning to the CIO officials that they must not become Greens, Freys and Hutchinsons.

citizens sacrificing for a noble cause.

He spoke of democracy. "Never in the history of the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend its democracy."

True! Very true! But, Mr. President, our idea of democracy is not yours.

The "democracy" you now champion is the "democracy" Wilson championed. To defend that "democracy" a million American youths were led to their death in the trenches of the First World War. And out of that "democracy," defended so successfully in 1914-1918, came the ghastly triumph of rule by the knout and the sword—fascism!

Yours is a "democracy" for the profit-makers. Yours is a democracy based on the most fundamental denial of democracy—THE EXPLOI-TATION OF MAN BY MAN. That is the "democracy" you seek to preserve.

Where in your "democracy" is there a place for 12,000,000 Negroes who live under Jim-Crow and lynch-law? Where in your "democracy," Mr. President, is the anti-lynching bill? Shelved in in a congressional waste basket by your party!

Where is the "democracy" in many of the Latin American "Republics" whose ambassadors you addressed without criticism or lashing? In Cuba, for example, under your tyrant-stooge, Ba-

You gave us a true picture of Nazi tyranny. You described the brutal subjugation of labor, the destruction of its unions. Yes, you did that-BUT YOU DID NOT DESCRIBE ITS CAUSE-THE SYSTEM OF BOSS RULE, THE VERY SAME SYSTEM YOU UP-HOLD HERE!

You lashed at the Nazi imperialists, the murderous conquerors. But you did not mention the many times that American troops were sent to Latin America to impose the will of banker and boss -in Nicaragua, in Haiti, and elsewhere.

You said not a word about India, the prize possession of your British ally. Why didn't you condemn before the whole world the vicious bloody subjection of 400,000,000 people in India? And other millions in Kenya, in Uganda, in South Africa?

That would have been the way of defending democracy. THAT IS OUR WAY! Not by the occupation of Martinique, or Dakar, which you hinted as imminent in your speech! But by an appeal to the oppressed peoples of the world—THROW OFF YOUR OP-PRESSORS, WE WILL GIVE YOU ALL-OUT AID.

No, you couldn't do that, Mr. President. We know that. You speak for the capitalist class—and the capitalist class lives off the exploitation of the many millions at home and in the colonies. No, you couldn't do that! BUT WE CAN-and that is how WE propose to defend democracy and liberty in the world.

Mr. President, you described the foul tyranny forced on the German worker-and you followed it by an "emergency" forecast of the same tyranny here.

(Continued on page 3)

# The Government Is a Strikebreaker!

Last week the Roosevelt government demonstrated its real attitude toward labor by ordering the marines to load and drive a few hundred misguided workers through the picket lines of strikers at the San Francisco shipyards.

The naval commander of the district announced that approval of Washington was received before this strikebreaking act of the government was perpetrated.

Those workers who returned were hauled in navy trucks guarded by marines. The statement of the naval district commander, at San Francisco, that the marines were not acting as guards is of course a brazen lie. His statement that the marines were not armed is not very clever. The marines are part of the armed forces of the United States. They represent the federal government and the President, who is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Every official act of the army and navy is an act of the United States government, of which Roosevelt is the head.

The marines drove those trucks through the shipyard

picket lines by authority of the Roosevelt government and in its name. Whether or not these marines carried arms is beside the point. The authority under which a marine acts, and his prestige and influence, are not primarily a matter of guns and bullets. His authority and influence flow primarily from the fact that he represents the government. Since the vast majority of citizens respect, accept or fear the government, it is not necessary in most instances for government representatives to go armed.

The San Francisco shipyard workers know these things. They know also that the marines, just like the police, are an instrument of force. The authority of the federal government was paraded out in front, but lurking in the background was all the viciousness of which the marines are ca-

Those Roosevelt government marines were there to break heads and kill if the strikers put up any resistance.

The most criminal and treacherous role was played

by John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Depart. to be a labor leader than any other strike-breaker, scab ment of the AFL. This stinking, filthy rat was the originator of the government strike-breaking scheme.

He announced that he would lead the way through the picket lines. He took good pains, however, to go through on one of the trucks under the protection of the "unarmed" marines. He didn't dare show his rotten carcass on foot before the militant strikers.

We are not surprised at the government attempting to break a strike. This is one of the chief functions of an imperialist government. We are not surprised at the bloodthirsty Admiral Land. Suppressing workers is one of the roles that admirals and generals are expected to play. But Frey: that's something else. He poses as a labor leader. The workers have to take responsibility for him. They don't have to take responsibility for the government and Admiral Land. It's the bosses' government and Land is the bosses' admiral.

Frey is a traitor and a stool-pigeon. He is no more fit

or stool-pigeon. Any rank and file worker who performed such an act would be driven from his union. What are the AFL workers going to do about Frey?

The workers who followed Frey and the marines have many things to learn. How did they feel riding through that picket line on a navy truck in the company of U. S. marines? Did they feel any better or any happier than they would riding through a picket line in a police wagon in the company of a bunch of bull necked flat feet in police uniforms? Do these poor devils think there is any difference between the police and the marines? We'll tell them: there is no differ-

The Roosevelt government is a strike-breaker. Frey and the marines who drove through that picket line are strike-breakers. The workers will have to learn to deal with strike-breakers, no matter where they come from or what they belong to.

## -Who's Behind Lindbergh?-

# The America First Committee: Reading from Left to Right

By DWIGHT MACDONALD-

Last Friday, May 24, the America First Committee held a mass meeting in New York City's Madison Square Garden. The chief speakers were Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, and Norman Thomas. It was by far the biggest and most enthusiastic isolationist rally New York has yet seen. Inside the Garden there was a capacity crowd of 22,000, with another 14,000 milling around outside-a big increase since Lindbergh's first New York meeting, just one month earlier, for which only about 10,000

By now the America First Committee is far and away the dominant isolationist outfit in the country. The considerably older (founded 1938) Keep America Out of War Committee, a Socialist Party-liberal-pacifist group which is holding its annual convention in Washington in a few days, has been far outdistanced in both size and publicity by its younger (and more conservative) competitor. The flash-in-the-pan No Foreign War Committee, launched early this year with a big burst of expensive publicity by the smalltown Iowa editor, Verne Marshall, has by now fizzled out completely. Its death was hastened by Marshall's blunders and by the revelation of the source of its copious funds: the sinister international oil operator, William Rhodes Davis, whose "connections" with the Nazis have long been of the very best.

Lindbergh has become the chief mouthpiece for America First? But who is behind the Committee-and behind Lindbergh? What is its history? What sort of support does it have? Where is it going politically. These questions I shall try to answer.

#### BIRTHPLACE: YALE UNIVERSITY

America First took definite shape only last fall, as the presidential campaign was going into its last weeks. But its origins can be traced back to the spring of 1940 and the elm-shaded campus of Yale. The chief figure in its founding was R. DOUGLAS STUARY, JR., then a Yale senior, whose father is the first vice-president of the Quaker Oats Co. Young Stuart (who now edits the near-fascist magazine, "Scribner's Commentator") soon made contact with two men who gave him much technical advice and who got him

One of the men was CHESTER BOWLES, JR., head of Benton & Bowles, a big Manhattan advertising agency. His agency was useful in preparing the early publicity and ads of the Committee. The "Benton" of Benton & Bowles, incidentally, is now vice-president of the University of Chicago, whose president, Robert E. Hutchins, is also a leading collaborator of the America First Committee.

The second-and more important-adviser of young Stewart was WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR., a wealthy Harvard man whose family owns large Hawaiian sugar interests. Castle had a long career in the U. S. State Department, ending up as Hoover's Under-Secretary of State. He is said to be ambitious to get back into poli-

tics and has been termed by observers "definitely the brains of the America First Committee." He denies the oft-repeated story that he writes Lindbergh's speeches, but he is at least a very intimate friend of Lindbergh. His political views are extreme rightwing Republican, with a touch of anti-Semitism. He is reported to be privately "convinced that Hitler has won the war."

#### BIG BUSINESS AND AMERICA FIRST

With such parents, it is not surprising that America First should have accumulated quite a load of big business supporters on its National Committee as it began to get under way last fall.

One of the first converts was HENRY FORD, whose relationship to the Committee is peculiar enough to deserve a paragraph here. On September 24 he was announced as a member of the National Committee. Three months later, however, he resigned this post under mysterious circumstances. It is not definitely known whether he chose to do so for personal reasons or whether, as the Committee began to build a mass following, its directors felt that Ford, with his Nazi medals, his fascistic labor policies and his well known anti-Semitic views, was more of a debit than an asset. He is still a rank-and-file member, however. Furthermore, according to a sensational story in PM for February 9 last: "In a locked and guarded room on the sixth floor of the Ford Building, 1710 Broadway, Henry Ford has compiled a master list of appeasers with the names and addresses of thousands of anti-Semites, pro-Nazis and fascists. It was done with the cooperation of Scribner's Commentator, bible of America's super-appeasers."

Other big business names on America First's National Committee are: GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, national chairman, who heads the great Chicago mail-order house of Sears, Roebuck; STERLING MORTON, of the wealthy Morton salt family; THOMAS N. Mc-CARTER, founder and longtime head of the powerful Public Service Company of New Jersey; EDWARD RICKENBACKER, president of Eastern Air Lines; EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR., of the Ryerson Steel family, vice-chairman of the Inland Steel Co.; JAY C. HORMEL, the meat packer ("Spam"), who got the topflight Manhattan advertising firm of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne to contribute its technical services free to the Committee. (It is also reported that Stuart uses the Quaker Oats publicity staff and General Wood the Sears, Roebuck publicity department to work on America First propaganda.)

#### THE LEFT WING FORMS

Since its line is exclusively concerned with keeping America out of the war, without any commitment as to either the political reasons for this or the kind of a social system a peaceful, "inde-

pendent" America should build, the America First Committee has of America First, exclusively concerned with keeping American attracted a richly variegated following. At its meetings, both in the audience and on the platform, Coughlinites mingle with Norman Thomas socialists, Midwest progressives with Wall Street brokers. There are signs of late that tension is increasing, however, between its liberal and its fascist wings-with the business men playing a more or less centrist role. This tension is perhaps mostly caused by the fact that, of late, the Committee has ambitiously tried to strike out simultaneously both to the left and to the right to gain more recruits.

The leader of the liberal wing in the Committee is the energetic JOHN T. FLYNN, one of the founders of the Keep America Out of War Committee, who is chairman of the New York section of America First. Flynn, for years a New Republic columnist, is an old-fashioned trust-busting liberal, ever on the alert to protect free competition and the little business man against "Wall Street." His chief leftwing colleague on the National Committee is KATH-RYN LEWIS, Stalinoid daughter of John L.

Recently, no doubt largely under Flynn's influence, América First has been working more and more closely with the Socialist Party. The New Leader of May 24 reported that the SP and America First are exchanging membership lists. Last week in Chicago, MAYNARD KREUGER, Thomas's 1940 presidential running mate, spoke at an America First chapter meeting. And, of course, the appearance of NORMAN THOMAS last Friday for the first time on an America First platform, is highly significant. (Typical of the Committee's scrambled politics was the conjunction on the platform of Thomas and the arch-conservative lady novelist, KATHLEEN

#### "NAZI TRANSMISSION BELT"?

America First has also been philandering on the extreme right with various outright anti-Semitic and semi-fascistic characters. The Friends of Democracy charge that America First, indeed, is nothing less than a "Nazi transmission belt." This has been mostly a matter of native fascists turning out for America First meetings uninvited, and giving (also uninvited) plugs for the Committee in their papers. The German-American National Alliance, successor to the Bund, in its official paper has solicited contributions to America First; Father Coughlin's Social Justice is hawked vigorously at America First meetings; from Berlin itself have come broadcasts embarrassingly sympathetic to Lindbergh and Wheeler. It is true that this kind of support is not only unsought by the Committee, but also generally unwelcome. It seems exaggerating to call the Committee a Nazi transmission belt in any such conscious sense as the various "innocent front" organizations of the Popular Front period were for the Stalinists. But it is also true that the line

war aid from England and silent on all domestic political isues, is one which native fascists can easily support almost 100 per cent.

There have also been recent instances of the Committee's officially collaborating with fascistic elements. According to The New Leader of May 17, "The America First Committee is taking over workers dismissed from Verne Marshall's No Foreign War Committee. . . . " Two weeks ago, the REV. EDWARD LODGE CUR-RAN, editor of the pro-fascist Brooklyn Catholic sheet, The Tablet, and generally considered eastern spokesman for Father Coughlin, delivered the invocation at a big America First rally in Brooklyn. At this meeting-whose chief speaker was EX-GOVERNOR PHIL-IP LaFOLLETTE of Wisconsin, whose political career has shown certain totalitarian tendencies-prominent among those present was JOHN F. CASSIDY, Brooklyn leader of the Christian Front.

#### THE FUTURE

Friction seems to be developing between the liberals and the fascists in the Committee. Flynn is reported to be up in arms about the Brooklyn meeting addressed by the Rev. Mr. Curran. At Friday's meeting, Flynn, who presided, dramatically denounced from the platform JOE McWILLIAMS, former Yorkville fuehrer and now leader of a lunatic-fringe fascist group called the American Destiny Party. McWilliams was sitting, as usual, in a front row seat at the rally. Most of the audience, papers reported, seemed to be sympathetic with Flynn's attack. There is said to be a big fight brewing between Flynn and Curran, each of whom wants to purge the other.

Regardless of the outcome of the fight, it seems likely that the political complexion of the Committee's following will not change much. Its isolationist line is one skillfully calculated to draw together all shades of bourgeois political opinion. So long as America First continues to avoid raising any domestic social or political issues, it will get the support both of the bourgeois isolationists, from Norman Thomas to Jay C. Hormel, and also the native fascists. It seems not unreasonable to predict that its positive political program, when the time comes to make it public, will be more along the lines desired by Messrs. Hormel, Wood, Ford and the other big-money backers of the Committee than along those of Messrs. Flynn and Thomas. One thing is notable about America First, that it seems to have very little trade union following, despite the widespread anti-war sentiment of the American working class. In such matters the workers often have a sure instinct.

(We will return to the motive behind America First in a coming issue of LABOR ACTION .- Ed.)

# The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

SAYS WE RADICALS ARE TOO SUSPICIOUS

Dear Editor:

The single-handed defense and support of the Negro being given by PM is roundly berated by J. R. Johnson as being two-faced. PM is supposed to be very bad because its main support is now Mr. Marshall Field. This man is not in control of the famed store in Chicago, and it is avoided by whites just as much as by Negroes because it charges "just" for the name.'

There are no other daily white papers doing the "speak up" job for

is typical of their technique. If a man offers them \$50 now as a gift, or a barely possible \$1,000 fifteen years from now, the radical would wait for the fifteen years. Regardless of its nature or its owners, the campaign and the Negro treatment by PM is a notable gain for Negroes and should be applauded. Carl Peterson,

Chicago, Ill.

**Boyle Gets a Shock --**

and turned the union into a well paying machine of the Boyle bureaucracy.

But, as the old saying goes: "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown"

-and of late Czar Boyle has been as nervous as a jitterbug with his pants

full of itching powder. For the CIO has begun to make great strides forward

in this vast stronghold of anti-unionism and racketeer and "do-nothing"

unions. Spurred on by victories near and far, by Vultee and Bethlehem from

the East and West, by Ford and Allis-Chalmers from nearby Detroit and Mil-

waukee, the CIO is at last beginning to take over Chicago. Harvester, Pack-

inghouse, Republic and Inland Steel, small plants, new plants-all are lining

up behind the CIO. The Chicago workers are sick to their stomachs of the

strike-breaking, "do-nothing" sell-out attitude of the AFL and are hell bent

And Mike Boyle is a thoughtful man these days-for he's begun to see the

handwriting on the wall of his own union stronghold. For here is something

that, offhand, would seem like a very little ripple in a big pond were it not

for the fact that Czar Boyle had one of his chief "yes men" working on the

A short time back a few of the workers in a small Chicago plant got tired

One of Boyle's lieutenants, a man close enough to Mike to be able to call

of their lousy conditions and low pay and decided to see if unionism would

help them. So they went to the AFL's IBEW-their shop, the Mitchell Mfg.

him by his first name if he smiled, took over complete charge of organizing

this small plant. Boyle's man no sooner accepted the task of organizing the

plant than he promptly forgot about it: and that's how efficient Boyle likes

his men to be: if the plant is small, not worth organizing (that is: won't bring

in any foldin' money to the bureaucrats) and the workers not skilled, why

then the best and most simple AFL Emily Post policy is to forget about it.

ing the highly skilled intricacies and maneuvers of the Boyle outfit, just

kept on pestering hell out of the organizer. So he, out of the goodness of his

heart and his undying devotion to the cause of the workingman, went down

to the shop one day, had a conference with the boss, and lo and behold,

presto-changeo-magnifico!--the goods start coming out of the plant bearing

nice to have a union label, looked awful pretty and all that, BUT-what about

our had conditions and our pay increases? On this point the organizer was

Two or so IBEW skilled electricians were hired by the boss and for this

To make a long story short, the Mitchell Co. workers saw just what the

IBEW had to offer and went to Local 1121 of the UERMWA (United Electrical

CIO went to work on the job, they had signed up a majority of the plant!

as silent as a corpse with a bad case of laryngitis.

The boys, being "unskilled" workers, were still not satisfied. Yes, it was

the IBEW union label!

he was given the union label.

But the boys, being just raw and unskilled workers and not understand-

Co., being an outfit that produces radios and fluorescent light fixtures.

toward making Chicago a union town with the CIO in the saddle.

IBEW-AFL (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers).

(We just want to be sure that the \$15,000 isn't counterfeit coin. So,

the Negroes that PM is doing. Yet while we welcome the aid given the this does not satisfy the radicals. It Negro by PM or any other person or institution, we can't help looking the gift horse in the mouth. If PM helps the jobs for Negroes campaign, we say: Good! But then we examine the financial backing of PM, etc. We find that Marshall Field is one of the principal owners. This same Marshall Field owns, in whole or in part, a store in Chicago, or, if you prefer, allows his name to be used without disassociating himself from the store. Negroes are not employed in this store and they are discouraged from buying there. To us, that cloaks PM's story with a distinctly fishy smell and we can't help wondering if Marshall Field hasn't got something up his sleeve-like getting the support the war. It reminds us of the Florida editor who last week protested the lynching of a

Dear Editor:

ACTION some months ago reported on the barbaric conditions in the Babcox & Wilcox plant in Barberton, Ohio. Workers are killed and injured daily because the company refuses to spend one cent for safety precautions.

Florida Negro because it might re-

The plant has now gained a real the plant painted. The management floor some 30 feet below. One was killed instantly, the other narrowly missed falling on another worker. tained serious internal injuries. The doctors say he will be in bed the rest

on a high speed grinder broke. It

in the groin. They carried him to the dispensary, where he bled to death waiting for medical attention. These cases are not exceptions,

they are the norm at B&W. The paytriots are too busy carting off the take to worry about a few workers being killed. D. W.

IRON WORKER FIRED FOR UNION ACTIVITY

I think this story will be of interest to your readers. One of the most militant workers in our shop was canned last week. The ONLY reason he was canned is because he was a militant and articulate union man.

Only two months after he came to work in our shop he was responsible ganized union channels. We decided to hit the boss with a list of demands. He was one of the members of our negotiating committee. He must have done some tall talking in the negotiations because he was canned after the first meeting with the boss. But he was back at work the next day because the boss found out that none of the men would go to work in the morning unless he went back. Nothing came of the negotiations, so we went out on strike. After two days on the picket line we got the boss to give us a signed contract and a . Chicago, May 22. nickel an hour increase, with the further understanding that starting June 1 negotiations would continue on the question of further increases. A week before negotiations were

to continue this fellow was canned. According to our analysis the boss was trying to force us out on strike. He has no steel and none will be de-

were eligible to vote. The company

has hired almost 4,000 more men

Cause of the insistence on a wage

increase is obvious. Not only is the

east of living shooting skyward here.

but North American is making such

fabulous profits that the wage in-

creases won't even squeeze the com-

Richard T. Frankensteen, UAW di-

rector of aviation organization.

pointed out that in 1939 North Amer-

ican made \$7,600,000 profit, which is

96 per cent of the total capital invest-

In 1940 it made \$7,800,000. In other

words, in two years it got back all

the money put into building the

company, and it has the plants free

and it is making huge profits from

more government orders. It's better

So the CIO chose this company as

a "must" on its list in the fight to

establish a minimum of 75 cents an

Victory at North American means

ment of the company.

than a gold mine!

hour in aircraft.

atin it but struck a nearby workman existed among all the men into or- men on because he is afraid that they will get other jobs, but he knows that if we strike we'll stick until the fight is over. The union, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, Local 473, is taking the case up with the Labor Board. If we had a decent steward the guy would be back on the job already because there are many tricks used by workers in other shops that can make the boss talk turkey without the necessity of a strike.

Iron Worker.

## Ford Workers Hit Speed-Up, Lies in Press

LONG ISLAND CITY - The boss press, in the frantic effort to find a breach in the ranks of organized labor, last week invented and ballyhooed a story that workers at the Ford Instrument Co. had offered to give up their vacations and work a 60-hour week. The members of the Ford Instrument Workers Local 425, UERMWA, at their last meeting adopted a resolution repudiating and condemning the lies published about them in the New York press.

According to the union statement, "95 per cent of the membership voted down the proposal of the management" to have the workers surrender their vacations and "never offered the management to work 60 hours per week." The statement also attacked the New York Times, which concocted the whole story, for its "untruths and misstatements-which are detrimental to the best interests of Local 425."

The metropolitan dailies, which were quick to see the value of the lies about the Ford workers, smeared the story over their front pages and editorial columns. They cited these workers as an "example" and suggested that others follow suit.

The press, however, did not feature the union statement, relegating the TRUE story to the inside pages.

# PRESS

25¢ SUB DRIVE

Enthusiastic responses are beginning to come in on the 25¢ Subscription Drive announced in last week's column. Branches affirm that this is an extremely easy sub to sell, as its price is so low, and that they can obtain many new readers through it.

St. Louis, a branch with a quota of only 10 subs, already has sent in 21 and expects to send in more!

Syracuse, which was set no quota in this drive, has already sent in 4 subscriptions, an amount larger than the quotas set for several small branches!

Several other branches have written in approving the 25¢ introductory subscription and stating that they expect to "go to town" on this drive.

But it is disappointing to note that some branches have taken no note of this campaign at all; neither letters approving their quotas nor subs have come in to date.

We expect to hear from ALL branches on this 25¢ Introductory Sub Drive. This is a short campaign . . . only 2 months, and the national quota set is extremely low ... only 200 subs. We want to reach and even better this figure, but all branches have to do their share.

So . . . let's hear from all of you this week. We want to be able to report at least 50 more subs received before the next issue of LABOR AC-TION. How about it?

#### DISTRIBUTION DOPE

St. Louis sold 75 copies of LABOR ACTION at an America First meeting a couple of weeks ago.

New York distributed 2,000 LA-BOR ACTIONS at a TWU meeting at Madison Square Garden last week.

Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!

#### It's a Union Job Too! sult in the anti-lynching bill being for directing general discontent that livered for a week. He keeps the passed by Congress.-Ed.) -By TED LYONS WORKERS KILLED AT 11,000 North American Workers For quite a while now it has been an established fact around these parts BABCOX & WILCOX that "Umbrella Mike" Boyle has undisputable possession of Chicago's elec-

A letter to the editor of LABOR Long and black is the record and many and dirty are the deeds attached to the infamous past of "Umbrella Mike's" role as chieftain of the Chicago A model racketeering union, ruled by the black-jack and seconded by the gun, steeped in the worst traditions of the most outworn reactionary AFL craft policies, the Chicago IBEW has terrorized and subdued its rank and file

reputation throughout Akron and Barberton as "the butcher shop." The latest murder was a couple of days ago. They were having the inside of refused to build scaffolds because they were too expensive. They had two painters working on the ceiling standing on two by eights. One board had a knot in it and broke, throwing both men to the concrete His back was broken and he sus-

A day or so before that the stone

Rally Around "75-10 or Strike!" sentiment for strike was clearly ex-By JACK WILSON pressed in the balloting. When the LOS ANGELES-"75-10 or strike!" NLRB election took place 7,000 men

This battle cry rallied 11,000 workers of the North American Aviation Co. this week as they prepared to struggle for a 75 cent hourly minimum and a general 10 cent blanket raise which the company-refused to concede in negotiations.

Hot on the heels of winning a National Labor Relations Board election over the AFL, the CIO Autoworkers Union presented a contract for North American to sign.

Besides recognition of the union, the wage demands constituted the major points of the contract around which the fight is centering.

Sentiment among the workers for the CIO increased rapidly when they saw a struggle coming and hundreds upon hundreds of them immediately joined the CIO so that a strike vote polled 5,829 for a strike and only 210

eligible to vote yet, since they were didn't touch the man who was oper- just hired, but the overwhelming

Many of the employees were not

Local (134, Boyle's own) they would be classed in what is known as a B rating, or second-class members. Every trick was brought to play by the IBEW. They tried to entice work-

ers by setting up spacious headquarters where free beer and liquor were served. A mass meeting, advertised with printed leaflets, sound trucks, etc., was called-and three people showed up. The boys in Boyle's outfit were licked, baffled by these unskilled "broom pushers" who refused to see the benefits of belonging to Boyle's union.

In the meantime the CIO kept issuing leaflets, holding meetings, explaining what a bona fide union like the UERMWA, Local 1121, could do for the workers-and then came the National Labor Board hearing.

Boyle's personal lawyer, Emory Smith, presented the AFL's case in the Labor Board hearing. Smith is the notorious anti-labor, red-baiting lawyer who sent the Du Quoin boys up the river for a long stretch in the penitentiary for organizing the Illinois coal miners into the Progressive Mine Work-

The Labor Board ordered an election. One just needs to read the results to know what's what: 186 votes for the CIO, 15 for the AFL, 0 for no union (showing clearly who the boss backed).

That's the story. Just a small plant-but it's a vital part in the fall of the Boyle method of racketeer unionism and the coming to Chicago of a real, militant, progressive trade union movement.

further impetus to the CIO aircraft drive in Douglas and other plants and should establish the CIO over the AFL in the industry.

These thoughts were in the minds of the union negotiation committee which was called to Washington on Monday by the Roosevelt Mediation Board. The board will try to sell them a phony compromise.

Back here the ranks are watching closely. "75-10 or strike" is their slogan. They are ready to fight for their rights.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!

SPE	CIAL	NTRO	DUCTORY	OFFER!	
(	25¢	For	Three	Month	5

LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th Street **New York City** 

Enclosed find 25 cents for which please send LABOR ACTION for three months to:

NAME	
ADDRESS	
CITY	STATE

Radio Machinist Workers of America, CIO) and within two days after the The IBEW now began to act quicker. Working in close agreement with the Mitchell Co. bosses and three stooges in the plant, the IBEW tried to put over one deal after another to herd the workers into the AFL. In the IBEW

# Of Special Interest To Women

- By Susan Green

I think a good memory is the human faculty most needed today. If your memory is functioning, you will be able to see through the colossal cheating that goes on to put the war over on the people.

Before Congress dared pass the conscription lawbecause of the great popular protest against it-Mrs. Roosevelt had all kinds of arguments in its favor. She could think of nothing-absolutely nothing-more beneficial to the "mental, moral and physical development of the youth of the land than a year of training in the use of instruments for wholesale slaughter. Her column and her speeches bogged down with voluminous vaporings about the "cultural and social gains" to be had by young men torn away from their normal lives.

SHE WAS CHEATING. She didn't believe that any more than we did or do. But-

The conscription law had to be passed for the American imperialists, didn't it! Conscription having been put over, Mrs. Roosevelt quickly forgets the lies she employed to help accomplish that end.

In a recent column she unwittingly throws a beam of illumination on the "mental, moral, cultural and social benefits" of army life. She quotes from a letter sent to a friend by a major at Fort Lewis in California.

"The off hours" are a problem to the conscript, says the letter. At Fort Lewis it costs 20 cents and about an hour's time to get to town. But, having reluctantly parted with this sum out of what is left him of his \$21 a month pittance, there is little for him to do in town "BUT STAND ON A STREET CORNER." If he stays at the camp, he can lie on his bunk and SWAP YARNS WITH THE BOYS. If he goes to the battery recreation rooms, he'll find light and heat, "BUT LITTLE ELSE."

And all the dear first lady has to say about this streetcorner-loafer level of existence the boss government provides for its constripts is-please won't you send books and magazines to the dear boys!

The latest make-believe scheme for a "brand new world" was formulated by Dorothy Thompson at a dinner given in her honor a week ago.

There is really no need to go into her ten-point piece of deception. The company she keeps is enough to stigmatize her in the eyes of all intelligent workers as an enemy of their class.

At this dinner was Governor Lehman, member of a family of bankers. There was Wendell Willkie, ambassador-at-large for the combined Morgan interests estimated to be worth about \$30,000,000,000. Greetings and praise were sent to her by Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Rooseveit, the joint chairmen of the profit-grabbing concern known as British & American Imperialism.

This gives an idea of Dorothy Thompson's comradesin-arms. The ruling class has taken Dorothy to its bosom. A new world for the working people will not be made BY the present rulers and their clever word-slingers. It will be made AGAINST them.

But Dorothy Thompson also condemned her "new world" out of her own mouth.

"Tell the people to hold on to what they have-or haven't-and they are at least bored," she said. "Yes, bored to death. Tell them to seek what they wantwhat they dream of-and THEY WILL GO TO DEATH

The yearning of the masses for a new and better world is so real, so compelling, that the rankest misleaders have to cater to it in order to carry out their deception. To break down the stubborn anti-war, feeling of the people and get them "to go to death," Dorothy dangles a "brand new world" before their noses. This is an old trick-IT WAS USED TO PUT OVER WORLD WAR NO. 1.

The list of rising prices grows longer.

To dairy products, meat and lard, have been added dry groceries such as sugar and flour. The cost of clothing shows an increase. Rentals are on the way up.

These mounting prices are not only in comparison with a year ago. Butter, for instance, is 8 cents more a pound than a year ago and eggs 6 cents and more up on a dozen. But every month shows prices a little higher up on the moving escalator.

While this unceasing ascension of prices continues, wages are being "frozen." Wage contracts entered into at the present time cover a year at least, and often longer. Practically none of the new contracts provides for any adjustment of wages as the cost of living rises.

This does not mean that the workers will not demand a decent living wage. In spite of contracts outdated by the march of events, workers will fight for their needs. Workers do not have undue respect for contracts that operate against them. But strikes and negotiations for higher wages take time.

Therefore, the fight must go on ON ALL FRONTS. Day by day the working class housewives of the nation must beat back the assaults upon their insufficient dollars. THEY CAN DO THIS BY BANDING TOGETHER INTO CONSUMER COMMITTEES FOR MILITANT

You don't have to go to the library and hunt up the vital statistics to know that there has been a great jump in the birth rate since the war broke out. Anybody with open eyes cannot have failed to notice on the city streets the greater proportion of pregnant women and the increase in the baby carriage traffic. Because married men with children have more chance of being left at home, people have gone in for babies.

These men and women, in the privacy of their homes, have decided that THIS IS NOT THEIR WAR. The women are bringing babies into the world-very often when they cannot afford them-to keep their men in this world. These women belong to the anti-war camp and should be first-line anti-war fighters. If in private they thus oppose the war and in public support it, they are the kind of hypocrites for whom the dictionary has no adequate adjective.

But it is not any old anti-war camp they should join -not the Communist Party turncoats now allied with the Stalin-Hitler side - nor the Lindbergh-Wheeler bunch which merely wishes to take care of the capitalist interests their own way.

These war mothers belong in the anti-war camp which is opposed to both warring gangs and to the bossimperialist system that breeds wars. They belong in the camp which fights for the establishment of a workers' society in which there can't be any more wars.

They owe this to the children to whom they are giving life. A recent editorial in the New York Daily News predicts a post-war world whose "NORMAL STATE IS WAR WITH ABNORMAL INTERLUDES OF PEACE." What kind of normal life can children have in a world where PEACE will be ABNORMAL!

The WORKERS PARTY calls upon the war mothers of America to join it in its struggle to overthrow the boss-imperialist system.. The WORKERS PARTY fights for a society in which PEACE and PLENTY will be

# Flouting the Will of the People, Roosevelt Foists War Rule on U.S.!

Where the German trade unions have been destroyed, you propose to uphold the as they are doing today. And if they yield right of a worker to join a trade union. BUT YOU ARE GOING TO TRY TO OUTLAW STRIKES. YOUR SUBORDINATES IN THE ARMY AND NAVY HAVE BEEN ACTIVE-LY ENGAGED IN STRIKE-BUSTING!

You propose to uphold a hollow shella trade union without the right to strike. Hitler might grant as much. AGAINST YOU, WE CALL UPON ALL LABOR TO ACT IN DEFENSE OF OUR RIGHT TO STRIKE-OUR UNIONS!

word. That will be said by labor. In industry after industry, sweeping from east to west and north to south, labor has defied your injunctions, your threats, your intimidation-defied them on the picket line. No amount of edicts can stop us. We, the working class, are too powerful. Try to turn a machine without us! Churchill outlawed strikes. But there are strikes in England today!

You hint at longer hours and the suspension of those legislative gains which labor compelled after years of struggle. You reckon without labor, however! In the end, it is labor, and labor alone, which can decide how many hours it shall work-and under what conditions!

Given a cause of its own, labor will aladly strain its energies. Labor in Spain did that when the fascist forces attacked. Labor in America wanted to help its brothers. You, YOU, prevented that help by sabotaging aid to the Loyalist forces. And you dare speak of defending democracy!

You dare speak of democracy-you who are in league with Churchill and Willkie, who a few short years ago praised the accomplishments of fascist rule in Italy and in Germany.

You dare speak of democracy - you whose class would not hesitate a moment to impose fascist rule here if that was the choice it had to working-class rule. Can you deny that, Mr. President? Can you deny that if your class—the financiers, the industrialists, the landlords-had to choose between the rule of working-class democracy, or boss-class fascism, they would choose the latter?

Your class cannot fight fascism. It can fight Hitler, and be victorious; it cannot fight fascism-because fascism is only the desperate and brutally undisguised rule of your class domination.

war. That is why you dare not state your

You try to make it look good. You try to fool the people into believing that you are fighting for democracy.

You warn labor of totalitarian "emergency" restrictions. And you "impartially" add a reproach to big business—you warn it against excess profits. Excess above

In the last war, big business found more than one scheme by which to skirt the excess profits law. They will do the same

now. But even if they do not-below the "excess" they will still coin fabulous sums, a little in the interests of their collective class interests, they do it, AS YOU PRO-POSE IT, in the anticipation of the greater profits of world conquest.

Abolish all profits—that would be democratic! No one living off the toil of another man! Every man contributing his share of work to society! This too, Mr. President, we know you cannot do. It would be against the interests of your class, the 3 per cent of the people who own 90 per Your "emergency" decree is not the last cent of the nation's wealth. BUT OUR CLASS CAN DO IT! And when we do it, wars and fascism and all the horrors your class has spawned will be wiped off the face of the earth.

> You threaten that all will have to sacrifice "equally." You intimate that all, worker and boss alike, will be forced to pay for the cost of the bosses' war-by taxes, direct and indirect, by back-breaking labor.

> Already the people are bearing the great burdens of war expenditure. Their pennies, collected in indirect taxation, and the few dollars they give in direct taxation, mount up to tremendous sums against which the "huge" tax contributions of the wealthy

Tax the rich, and go beyond that in making them pay the cost of THEIR war. Impose a capital levy, a levy on accumulated wealth-that, too, would be democratic! This you have not proposed, Mr. President. Why? Because the Morgan bankers and the Rockefeller profiteers won't have it!

State your war aims, Mr. President, and let the people judge them. Tell them that your war is a war to decide who shall have the right to exploit the world—the German imperialists, or the British-American impe-

Tell them about Rockefeller's concern over the 90,000 square miles of oil fields he owns in Iraq, oil fields worked by Iraqi laborers who toil for a shameful pittance.

Tell them about the investments Morgan has in Europe. Tell them about your real concern for

Latin America—the right to exploit its many millions.

Tell them about the millions upon millions of dollars of profits big business has squeezed out of war preparations. Tell them about India. Tell them how

a few men, of whom you are one, live in That is why you have to lie about your the luxury of profits sweated out of the cultural laborers, miners, welders, dock

Tell them the truth! Let them judge! Prove the democracy for which you presume to speak!

Tell them that you cannot defend democracy by the totalitarian restrictions you are foisting on the people today.

Even in your speech, where the truth of your intentions was so obvious, you dared not speak it fully. You issued an "unlimited emergency" proclamation—a proclamation

which is issued only in time of war. Yet you did not tell the people that they are at war. You feared their reaction.

Step by step you entered the war. The people were apprised of each step only after it was taken. Meanwhile you lied, lied daily and consistently. Told the people you were against war.

So it will be with convoys. So it will be with naval engagements. You may already have ordered super-convoys-patrols which will not merely warn merchant ships of danger, but will come "shooting" to their aid. When the first shot is fired, we will be informed-not before.

You have issued a proclamation which is only one step short of an actual war proclamation. You may not get around to the next step for some time-while you confront the people with accomplished facts, while you prepare the instruments of military intervention.

You have declared a state of emergency. Under the laws of Congress, you now have extraordinary powers. Those powers you will put at the service of the war-mad

Against your "emergency" proclamation we propose an "emergency" program for

Where you speak of defending labor against fascist tyranny by threatening our right to strike, by warning us that we will have to work back-breaking hours for whatever is given us, we propose:

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITH-**OUT A UNION CONTRACT!** 

A MINIMUM OF \$30 FOR 30 HOURS OF WORK WITH TIME AND A HALF FOR OVERTIME.

NO ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION OF ANY KIND.

Where you speak of limiting "excess" profits, we propose: CONSCRIPT THE WAR INDUSTRIES

UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. A CAPITAL LEVY TO PAY FOR ALL WAR EXPENDITURES.

Where you speak of defending democracy by flouting the will of the people, and by upholding Jim-Crow, we propose:

PASS THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL. FULL WORKERS' RIGHTS FOR CON-SCRIPTS.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

Against fascism we will fight to the last gasp of breath. But it cannot be under your leadership—nor any representative of boss-

We will fight it under our own leaderlabor of colonials, of sharecroppers, agri- ship. We will fight it in common battle with the exploited peoples on every contiment of the globe. We will fight it anywhere, BUT WE WILL FIGHT IT BEST IF WE FIGHT FOR OUR OWN INTERESTS, OUR OWN EMERGENCY PROGRAM, HERE AT HOME.

> We will not tolerate the chains you have forged for us. We will not submit to totalitarian suppression.

YOUR WAR IS AN IMPERIALIST WAR. WE WANT NO PART OF YOUR WAR! DOWN WITH THE BOSSES' WAR!

# The Destiny of The Rio Plate Countries

By J. L. LOPEZ

The article we print below was sent to us by a group of Fourth Internationalists in Uruguay who have expressed their agreement with the program of the Work-

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay-Because of the strategic importance of Uruguay, dominating the entrance of the Rio Plate, the latest project of Uruguayan congressmen and the representatives of Wall Street imperialism is no surprise. The construction of air and naval bases means the conversion of Uruguay into a new colony of the socalled "Good Neighbor."

The old British imperialists, trying to save their empire from falling into the hands of their rival Hitlerite imperialists, are forced to hand countries that they dominated economically over to the Yankees in exchange for the latter's war aid. Uruguay and Argentina are just such countries. An Argentine State Secretary's announcement that England would hand over the Malvina Islands to the United States was the first step in the transfer of "English goods" to the Yankees.

#### CAPITALISTS DIVIDED ON POLICY

The capitalist class of the Rio Plate countries is divided over the European conflict. That group which directly or indirectly defends the German imperialists plays an important role, above all in Argentina. Vice-President Castillo of that country and the prominent Uruguayan politician, L. A. De Herrera, are the leading representatives of that tendency.

But right now the majority of the capitalists feel comfortable under their "democratic" owners. They undoubtedly expect the European situation to clear up. That is why the various moves of the Nazi agents here met with failure. The announcement of the Nazi "putsch" surprised everyone on the continent. Then it was adequately exploited by the agents of the imperialism with "silk gloves" and served as the pretext for presenting the project for air and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military service in Uruguay.

#### HOW THE STALINISTS FUNCTION

The Stalinists, here as everywhere else, supported the "good" (Yankee, British) imperialists against the "bad" (German) rivals. Together with the lackeys of the Second (Social-Democratic) International they united in the work of handing the proletariat, bound hand and foot, over to the bosses. They joined in sabotaging the workers' strikes against English-owned outfits such as the transit company. In their anxiety to support the Baldomir government they sold out the strike which 20,000 building trades workers had been carrying on for 77 days. Thus the Communist Party showed that it desired to put no obstacles in the way of the capitalist state.

But the Stalin-Hitler pact changed their tune for them. They broke their ties with the "socialist" bureaucrats. They stopped their campaign against fascism. They began to dig up from their archives the buried theses on "national and agrarian liberation." As if the native capitalists will struggle against the imperialists, whose principal agents they are! This monstrous error is the repetition of the experiences of Spain, China, etc., where they collaborated with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Spanish capitalists. The Stalinists would repeat those betrayals here.

#### MANY "TROTSKYISTS" PURGED

But Stalinism is gradually disappearing here. In the midst of their decomposition they just suffered a purge of 82 of their leaders. These were accused of "Trotskyism" and expelled. There is quite a mystery as to just who expelled the leaders. Not the party, for its convention was only permitted to ratify the action. Who, then? THE GPU! It was done with the same technique as in Moscow and Mexico. The accused declared themselves guilty and asked pardon for their sins. The GPU was implacable. Clearly they weren't shot only because the GPU hasn't power yet. Yet would-be Vishinskys had to be satisfied with expulsions.

The Fourth International has a great future in these countries. Its clear and correct position will make itself felt among the workers before long. At the present moment its influence is felt in the old Socialist Party, from which several militants have come out and joined the ranks of the Fourth International. The day cannot be far off when the hour of liberation will strike in these countries, and that will come only through the socialist revo-

# Transport Union Holds Huge Rally -

gaining do not say "except workers employed by the Board of Transportation of the City of New York."

The Mayor, now outstanding as No. 1 union-buster, contends that by taking over the subways, the city has automatically made civil servants of the 32,000 transit workers and ended their right to be represented through their union. The transit workers, whose conditions have been tremendously improved through the TWU, refuse to accept this autocratic, reactionary ruling. The TWU had made advantageous contracts with the BMT and IRT subway systems before the city bought them ten months ago. Since then the ranks of the union have been swelled by the workers on the Independent system, always city-owned. But the Mayor refuses to deal with the union to negotiate a new agreement to take the place of the old BMT-IRT contract expiring June 30th.

There is no other word for this refusal of the Mayor than UNION-BUSTING. The answer of the transit workers and their supporters at the Madison Square Garden rally was: "TRY AND DO IT!" At the beginning of the meeting, Chairman Hogan, president of the New York Local, asked the electrician to put on all the lights so that everybody could have a good look around. The place was packed to the rafters. The builders didn't make the Garden big enough for the TWU, commented the

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, came to the rally to pledge the support of the 5,000,000 CIO members to the fight of the TWU. He said

of men to have power to regulate the lives of thousands of men, women and children—as La Guardia and the Board of Transportation propose to do-is too much power.

Other speakers were more vigorous in their attacks on the Mayor. the Board of Transportation than Murray. Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, said that along with acquiring the rolling stock of Rockefeller and Morgan at the rate of \$320,000,000 for \$100,000,000 in value, the city took over the Rockefeller-Morgan labor policies-for nothing. He said the Mayor wants to return to the Middle Ages when serfdom was the condition of labor. The Mayor, he declared, has three big jobs now, but he isn't big enough for the job of destroying the TWU.

Michael Quill, international president of the TWU, referred to the big Murray. In her short speech she said

-as the three old men called "Winkin', Blinkin' and Nod," and predicted: "They're going to miss our bus

Ewart Guinier, vice-president of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, CIO, exposed the lie that civil service employees don't need a union. He said 13,000. civil service workers in his union find it necessary. He said the tactics of the government with its workers are just like those in private industry. Such tactics can be met only by the CIO. He promised the support of his union and of his people, numbering half a million Negroes in the city of New York, in the fight of the

Mrs. Mollie Grogan of the Ladies Auxiliary of the TWU, presented a bouquet to Philip Murray and Mrs.

tion-Delaney, Sullivan and Keegan the transport workers know what the union has done for them. "We want the union!" she shouted, and received thunderous applause

A very enjoyable feature of the rally was the singing of songs written by union members. One was about the scab train that never came back. One was "Let's Roll the Union On"-over the Delaneys, La Guardias and all others who stand in the way. The choruses were taken up by the whole assembly.

This meeting was a superb massing of union strength. The TWU members and their supporters have self-confidence and good cheer. They have the promise of Philip Murray that the whole strength of the CIO is behind them-UNTIL VICTORY IS THEIRS. They are giving unionbusting La Guardia something to

## **Uruguay Fourth** Internationalists Issue Newspaper

We have received a copy of Contra la Corriente (Against the Current), a Spanish paper published by the International Socialist League of Uruguay.

LABOR ACTION wishes to extend its greetings and solidarity to our comrades of Uruguay who have begun the publication of this paper. We wish it long life and

In its program offered to the people of Uruguay and La Plata region it proposes a revolutionary workers' struggle against domination of Latin America by Yankee imperialism-or any other imperialism. With these aims and objects we are in full agreement.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH DEPARTMENT -WEST COAST DIVISION

Douglas employees sign a contract when they go to work there, and one of the stipulations is as follows: "It is understood that talking against the Douglas Aircraft Company shall be grounds for dismissal."

# Note the Shachtman Meeting in Your City!

In St. Louis - -

8 P.M.

Subject: HOW TO CRUSH HIT-LERISM

Place: 2320A OLIVE STREET Time: SUNDAY, JUNE 1, at In Columbus - -

Subject: IS THIS THE NEGRO'S

Place: 521 GALLOWAY, Cor. ARSENAL STREET Time: SUNDAY, JUNE 8, at In Philadelphia - -

Subject: How HITLERISM CAN BE SMASHED

Place: 329 PINE STREET Time: SUNDAY, JUNE 15

# Editorials

#### **OUR PROGRAM AGAINST** THE WAR

- 1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty-Thirty-\$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers.
- 3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For government ownership and workers control of all war industries-aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
- 4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
- Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18. 6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the
- files of the State Department. 7. Withdraw all armed forces from terri-
- tory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America. Against compulsory military training
- and conscription. 9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day plans and war-time dictatorship.
- 10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and in the trade unions.
- 11. For an Independent Labor Party.
- 12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
- 13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
- 14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Fed-

## Can They Get Away With It?

Stopped dead in their tracks, momentarily, by the militant action of strikers in industry after industry, the labor-haters are once again poking their noses above ground. The Army and Navy have issued threats. Senator Byrd this week introduced a resolution aimed at banning strikes. Others are again trotting out their federal anti-labor schemes.

ing strikes is floating around, taken only half. semi-seriously . . . but something may come of it later: Prohibit strikes in defense in- Fleming right now—and we'll save him, dustries, but provide a substitute by which, and ourselves, a lot of trouble. instead of a strike and cessation of work, the work goes on, but both employer and employee are penalized. Employer would pay over his profits, or a portion of them, during the period of the controversy, to the government, and also 75 per cent of wages of 'striking' employees. And government would KEEP the money—would not pay it back later. Thus pressure both sides to come to terms but keep up production."

Quite a scheme, that. It may get nowhere, but it is worth looking into. What has restrained the Administration up to now has been the organized resistance, AND ACTION, of the working class. Much as Roosevelt and his gang have wanted to outlaw strikes, they have not yet dared chance the anger of organized labor.

Do not, however, be misled into believing that the danger has abated. Quite the contrary! Given the slightest opening, they will go ahead with their foul plans. It may be the scheme mentioned in the Kiplinger Letter. It may be another. It may be the Byrd kind. It may be more subtle-something which appears to be "just" to both sides: hit the boss, hit labor; everybody suffers equally! Bunk!

Bosses have always been willing to forego a little profit in order to break the back of a strike. They are coining money hand over fist now. To ensure themselves a continued profit return of gigantic dimensions they might easily accept a temporary loss . . . as tribute to the government strikebreaker.

How compare a worker's loss in wages to a boss's loss in profits! A man with a few million salted away . . . "suffering" equally with a man who hasn't a penny to his name except what he can earn by the supporting the Stalinists. The job of the sweat of his brow!

to terms. Where production goes on, there

because, while this particular scheme may not go beyond the Kiplinger Letter, the Roosevelt Administration may try to put over a similar trick.

Now, we have no objection to the government taking over profits. In fact, we believe that the bosses who profit from the war should be made to pay for the war. We are solely and exclusively interested in ourselves, the working class. The strike weapon is essential to our life-yes, as essential as bread and butter, because without it we may not have bread and butter. The anti-lábor legislators are lurking around every corner, waiting for labor to relax its vigilance. But it is up to labor to make the final decision. And that decision must be: YOU CAN'T GET AWAY WITH

### Not on Your Life!

 Wages and Hours Administrator Philip Fleming may soon go to London. If he goes, predict the Washington Merry-Go-Rounders (Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen), he will use the trip as a "springboard for recommending some sensational changes in the Wage-Hour Act, as follows:

"(1) A boost in the present 40-hour week. Fleming believes this is especially necessary in skilled crafts and wants to find out, from British experience, how long a man can work and remain efficient.

"(2) A standardization of industrial wage levels all over the country." (N. Y. therefore been promoting a real hys-Mirror, May 23.)

In other words, Fleming is trying to find out how long you can work a man and at what minimum pay rate, before he collapses. We assume that if the "British experience" is incomplete, he will refer to the "German experience."

If that is the purpose of the trip, labor ought to tell him right now that he is wasting his time—and inviting more strike actions than he has seen up to now. Labor refuses to make of itself a dumb beast which may be driven to the point of physical exhaustion. And for what? So that the profiteers can produce enough to wage their war at a substantial rate of profit.

No, sir! Even 40 hours are too long for And so, for example, the Kiplinger Let- a man to work. Thirty hours should be the ter ("circulated privately to business standard work-week. And \$30 the MINImen") recently informed its subscribers MUM for that work. Any work done over that: "an emergency scheme for prevent- the 30 hours should be paid for time and a

Let's make that clear to Administrator a "state of war."

## Union Democracy

Many unions have passed, or are considering passing, resolutions which would bar Stalinists from holding office in the union. This is, in our opinion, a grave error.

LABOR ACTION makes no bones about the fact that it looks upon the Stalinists as enemies of the working class, and, specifically in the union field, as wreckers. A political line which is shaped according to the interests of the Kremlin dictator cannot benefit the working class—even where they appear to coincide. We have, therefore, and do so again now, urged workers to repudiate the Stalinists, to challenge them where they have power with progres-

That, however, is altogether different from an automatic political bar on running for office. A resolution of that kind, by its violation of trade union democracy, paves the way for all manner of bureaucratic devices. The terms of such a resolution could, for example, be used by unscrupulous union jingoes against any worker who voiced a militant, anti-war position. The fact that this worker might be the most loyal member of the union, hard-working, a real unionbuilder, wouldn't avail him. He could be barred on the pretext of his POLITICAL

The trade unions cannot impose political restrictions on its membership. They must judge a member by his unionism. And each of its members must judge his fellow-member by that standard. There are many excellent militants who have been misled into progressive is to disabuse this worker of his More important, however: the very aim illusion. The trade unionist alive to the of a strike is to hold up production—to needs and problems of his union will coldforce the boss AND the government, who shoulder the Stalinists in a union election are in league against the workers, to come and vote for a unionist whose policies are guided solely by the interests of the union. is no strike. Where there is no strike, or That can be done democratically, by arguno threat of strike, labor hasn't got a ment and majority vote. It cannot be done, without serious injury to the principles of A very pretty scheme, that. But easy to union democracy, by denying the Stalinists see through. We've discussed it at length their democratic rights in the union.

- THE WORLD AT WAR ----

## 'Shooting' War Only a Matter Of Time as Roosevelt and the Nazi Command Trade Threats

Without mincing any words, the German chief of the Navy anticipated Roosevelt's fireside chat with the following ominous declaration: "I can only confirm President Roosevelt's opinion that convoying means shooting and since, according to American statements, cargoes of convoved ships must be regarded as contraband the introduction of such a convoy system would be not only an unneutral act under international law but a plain act of war and unprovoked aggression."

It is also significant that this statement was made in an exclusive interview given to the Berlin correspondent of the Japanese Domei News Agency and was first printed in Tokyo. That means war with Germany and with Japan, according to the terms of the tripartite pact (Japan-

Italy-Germany). Roosevelt nevertheless will take another big step toward full American intervention in the war in his speech Tuesday night. This will be in keeping with the demands made on U.S. imperialism by the British reverses, and with the huge jingo campaign that Roosevelt assume leadership for some big step toward war.

#### Scare Campaign

Up to now the American people have overwhelmingly demonstrated a decided reluctance against being involved in the imperialist war overseas. Press, movie and radio have teria with regard to an immediate invasion of the United States by Germany. The increasing "collaboration" between the Vichy government and the Nazis has been followed by "fright" propaganda about Dakar's use as a jumping off place for the Nazi luftwaffe in an attack on the United States via South America. Jingo after jingo has demanded immediate occupation of Dakar and all the French possessions west of it.

The latest encounter between the German battleship Bismark and the British battleship Hood somewhere between Iceland and Greenland has given these jingoes another opportunity to yell about the new dangers menacing the Greeland areas which recently came under American "protection." Our own "Little Flower," Mayor La Guardia, who has shown so much energy in his attempts to frustrate the legitimate trade union desires of the subway workers of New York, has been appointed head of civilian defense by President Roosevelt. Cities like Newark are staging "total blackouts." All this is to psychologize the public to accept

It is safe to say that while the bogeyman of invasion is dangled before us amid sonorous phrases about democracy, etc., not a word will be forthcoming in Roosevelt's fireside chat about the imperialist character of the war, about war profits or about the findings released last Monday by the National Nutrition Conference that 45,000,000 persons are undernourished in the United States while the granaries are overflowing with "surplus" foods and that the diet standards of 75 per cent of the population need to be raised to withstand "the strain of total defense."

#### The British Record

The imperialist program of the Nazis is well known. Maps circulate openly in Germany showing that their aim is to bring Europe, Africa and the Near and Middle East under their control. The German legions are ruthlessly following the path of this plan. Having brought the major part of Europe under their heel, the Nazis have extended their assault on Egypt, Syria, Iraq and now the island of Crete. If Crete is taken from the British, the Nazis will be in a more favorable position for the complete conquest of this new arena; and the British hold on the Mediterranean will be weakened, if not

How dastardly we regard the German effort to secure the oil of Iraq and Iran, the cotton of Egypt, and so forth, it is a matter of record that the British rulers have by the most brutal methods coined gold out of the blood and sweat of the natives in these colonies. For the latter there is indeed very little to choose from as between the Germans and the English.

It is absolutely certain that Roosevelt will not state the fact that in Iraq, for example, the British have never relinquished their control overthe country, even though the British mandate was formally abolished. Roosevelt will no doubt neglect to say anything about the puppet Feisal dynasty that was foisted on the Iraqi, or that the masses there have been kept in darkness and misery while the British Iraq Petroleum Co. pays the natives a few pennies a day to pump \$30,000,000 worth of oil out of the Mosul oil fields every year while the government itself is "compensated" to the tune of \$2,000,000

All this robbery amounts to generosity when we compare it with what the British have been doing in Iran. There the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. has been able, from 1901 to 1933, to pump out up to \$60,000,000 worth

of oil in a year, for which it paid the Iranian government the munificent sum of \$20,000! This paltry sum was so scandalous that the League of Nations in 1933 "purified" the British capitalists a little by raising the ante. These facts, typical of British imperialist rule, slash through all the phrase-mongering and reveal the real imperialist character of the war.

#### **Business Is Business**

Roosevelt's hypocrisy about the struggle against Nazism as an ideology is best shown by the manner in which American big business is linked with the Nazis in South America. Harold Callender, writing in the New York Times, has brought the following facts to light:

"C. F. Grundlach, naturalized Bolivian of German descent, who is said to contribute \$500 a month to the local Nazi . propaganda funds, has been and still is the agent in this country (Bolivia) for General Motors, Veedol Oil, J. I. Case & Co., United Aircraft Export Company, the Pilot Radio Corporation and the Electric Storage Battery Company, according to the latest information here; while Kyllman, Bauer & Co., another German firm, still represents Fisk Tires.

"The head of the German propaganda machine here is Rudolph Borgolte, Bolivian representative of the American firms Gillespie & Co. and H. E. Botzow, Inc. Another active member of the organization is Wilhelm Kyllman, another importer of American goods. J. von Bergen, agent for the American Bag & Paper Corp., the Intertype Corp. and A. W. Faber is another conspicuous Nazi instrument.

"When Germans recently withdrew advertising from pro-American newspapers such as La Razon of La Paz. American travel advertisements were arranged to prevent those papers from suffering a financial loss-but the compensatory advertisements were sent also to pro-Nazi newspapers."

The New York Times also reported that in Santo Domingo, Germans were underselling American cars because parts were furnished them by Detroit manufacturers. According to the Times, "experts who examined the German cars expected to find the products of General Motors and Ford European plants. They thought they might discover parts manufactured in Germany in plants financed with American millions. They did not expect to find parts manufactured in Detroit, shipped to Germany and returned to Santo Domingo to be offered for sale at half the cost of automobiles of American plants shipped direct from Detroit to Santo Domingo."

A trade thought it would be possible for American exporters to hold their own against foreign competition when the war ends. His reply was, "It depends less upon who wins the war and more upon how extensively American corporations engage in such dizzy practices as helping the Nazis turn out a car cheap enough to block their own machine from a lucrative market."

Here then is a sample of the paytriotism of American big business. For them, war or no war, business is business. All this stuff about democracy and the fight against Nazism is for the suckers. Roosevelt may think that the American people are suckers. It is up to us to show him and his capitalist crew that we have been suckers long enough.

### Caddies Shock Gentlemen Golfers By a Strike--And Win All They Ask

The state of the s

AKRON-The other day the caddies at Portage Country Club (that's Akron's swankiest) were discussing all the gaff they are forced to take and the bad company they are forced to associate with for 90 cents. The feeling was pretty widespread that 10 cents more per "loop" was entirely within reason. They felt that 90 cents was not enough for three hours and better even if the company was good. So someone suggested that a strike would probably be the best way to convince the moneybags who play there that their demand was, in fact, very reasonable.

The day's play was just about to begin and the caddy master came back to the caddy room to call the first ones out. Someone said, "Naw, we ain't gonna caddy, we're on strike." "Are you guys kidding?" asked the surprised caddy master. "Naw, we're really on strike," was the reply. Up until then the caddies themselves weren't exactly sure what they were going to do. Well, the caddy master went rushing out to tell the greens committee.

Now here's the part that brings tears to the eyes of the hardest rubber magnate. This was no ordinary day at Portage Country Club. It was "Portage Day" when all the gentlemen golfers turn out and expect to be treated with a certain amount of deference and respect. This day was designed especially to soothe their tired nerves. Above all, a day when these chaps should reasonably expect a respite from labor trouble. But here they were, all anxious to get started and not a blamed caddy but what was on strike.

After a few attempts on the part of the management to get the names of those leading the strike (because "we don't want those kinds of boys around here") it was finally agreed to negotiate. The caddies appointed a negotiating committee with the understanding that if any of them were fired for their participation, all would strike again until they were rehired. The result was that after three meetings with the greens committee, the caddies won a 10 cent raise. But the boys weren't inclined to stop there; they decided that they should be allowed to play golf themselves on Mondays, free of charge and unmolested by the members. So next Monday will be Caddies Day and there will be some good golf played for a change.

The caddies were so pleased with the success of the strike that remarks such as "Gee, let's have another one next week," were to be heard every-

The pious gentlemen of the greens committee are still trying to find out "how the communists got into the caddy yard" without their knowing it. The are convinced that this plot has been brewing for months.

Many an older union man could learn a few lessons from these boys. They organized their strike on the spot and organized 100 per cent. They maintained solid ranks not only during the strike but following it. No one was able to convince them that five cents was as good as ten, nor could they convince them that they were losing more by striking than they could regain through the raise. They knew what they wanted, they stuck to their guns, they held their ranks solid, and they won in a walk.

> We Demand: Higher Wages and Workers' Rights for Conscripts!

## THE NEGRO'S FIGHT From Jobs to The Struggle

For Socialism

The Coordinating Committee which led the recent Harlem bus boycott has now begun another campaign. It is directed against the obvious and shameful fact that in the colleges of New York City-this metropolis of democracy, having at its head one of the greatest and noisiest defenders of the democratic system in the world today, by whom we mean his democratic lordship and mightiness, Fiorello La Guardia-this great city has not one single Negro on its college teaching staffs

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Coordinating Committee called a mass meeting and 1,500 people turned up in order to register their protest and to gird themselves for the struggle. We presume that the Coordinating Committee has been long enough in this business to know that genteel deputations, lengthy correspondence and all the rigmarole by which preachers of democracy who sit at the top try to bluff all those who are striving to get a little democracy from below-we presume that the Coordinating Committee knows exactly how much all this is worth. The line should be, "Appoint, or we picket you and expose your hypocritical pretensions across the whole country, and across the five continents if we can."

Of course the Workers Party is absolutely 100 per cent with the people of Harlem and the Coordinating Committee on this question. Our theoretical contribution is very simple. It can be summed up in four words. "Don't play with them." Our material contribution can be summed up in five words. "Tell us where to picket."

At this stage, however we want to draw attention to the fact that 1,500 people turned up to support the attempt to get a few teachers on the staffs of the colleges. How many of these people could themselves hope to teach at any college? How many of them had friends or relatives whom they could reasonably expect to get one of these jobs? It is safe to say very, very few. Five per cent at most. Yet these Negro people, urged on by a tremendous passion for equality, turned out in numbers and worked for weeks to get a few Negroes jobs driving buses. Now they go further and show they are prepared to fight in order to get teachers at colleges that few of them attend and few of them have any prospect of attending.

#### A SIGNIFICANT STRUGGLE

Now what is happening in New York can happen in Chicago, in Cleveland, in Pittsburgh, in Los Angeles, in San Francisco. Further, we can judge from the present manifestations the fires that are smouldering in the South-the fires which will blaze at the first opportunity that presents itself and gives the Negroes a chance not only to wish but to hope. All that these people want throughout the length and breadth of the country is leadership. We have maintained that the Negro is bound to be in the advance guard of the revolutionary struggle in this country-in the front ranks of the builders of socialism. Here is proof.

We commit a grave crime if we do not understand the full significance of these recent demonstrations by the Harlem people. When workers in a union or in a factory strike, they strike for concrete advantages to themselves. The revolutionary struggle, however, is of a higher order of intensity. It opposes not only a particular grievance for immediate, concrete advantages, but opposes itself to a system even though those struggling do not themselves expect to reap any immediate personal benefit so far as they can see. That is precisely the way we should appraise 1,500 Negroes getting ready to fight for a few jobs for some Negro teachers. It is a struggle "on principle."

The skeptics will point out that the Negro is not struggling for socialism, that he is merely struggling for his democratic rights. These idiots do not understand that the struggle for democratic rights in their completeness is the struggle for socialism; and that today, in particular, the struggle for democratic rights in capitalist society can go only thus far, because almost immediately it runs up against the whole organized force of capitalism striving desperately to maintain itself in the catastrophic world situation.

#### WHERE THE FUTURE LIES

To see this is not to be blind to the fact that there are many intermediate stages, advances and retreats which face the Negro people in their struggle for their rights. The realization that only socialism can give them these rights can come to the millions only in and through struggle. They will learn by hard experience that their leaders, whether black or white, must ultimately make up their minds that their future is with organized labor. Here, however, another enormous asset of the Negro people presents itself. They are willing to go with organized labor.

That there is no nationwide unity between the Negroes and organized labor is the fault of organized labor, due to historical circumstances with which we are all familiar, and which we must explain ceaselessly to both whites and Negroes. The fact remains, however, that the Negro is ready to fight for equality: that he is ready also to fight , with organized labor; and that we who are concentrating so much on Negro work can do so with the fullest consciousness that the large masses of the Negro people will be a battalion second to none in the struggle for the defense and extension of democratic rights in declining capitalist society. Which is to say, the struggle for socialism.

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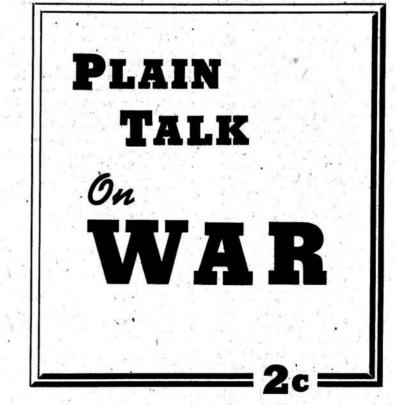
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